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background notes

Federal Republic of Germany

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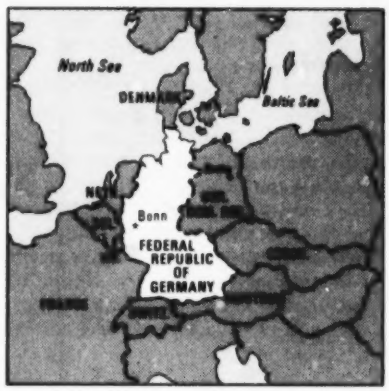

Official Name: Federal Republic of Germany

PROFILE

Geography

Area: 248,226 sq. km. (95,826 sq. mi.); about the size of Wyoming. **Cities:** *Capital*—Bonn (pop. 300,000). *Other cities*—Hamburg (1.6 million), Munich (1.3 million), Cologne (900,000). **Terrain:** Low plain in the north; high plains, hills, and basins in the center; mountainous Alpine region in the south. **Climate:** Temperate; cooler and rainier than much of the U.S.

People

Nationality: *Noun and adjective*—German(s). **Population** (Dec. 1987 est.): 59.2 million, declining gradually because of low birth rates. **Ethnic groups:** Primarily German; Danish minority. **Religions:** Roman Catholic 47%; Protestant 44%. **Language:** German. **Education:** *Years compulsory*—10. *Attendance*—100%. *Literacy*—99%. **Health:** *Infant mortality rate* (1987)—8.3/1,000. *Life expectancy*—women 78.1 yrs., men 71.5 yrs. **Work force** (28.3 million): *Agriculture*—5.1%. *Industry and commerce*—40.5%. *Government, services and other*—54.4%.

Government

Type: Federal republic. **Founded:** 1949 (Basic Law, i.e., constitution, promulgated on May 23, 1949).

Branches: *Executive*—president (titular chief of state), chancellor (executive head of government). *Legislative*—bicameral parliament. *Judicial*—independent, Federal Constitutional Court.

Subdivisions: 10 *Laender* (states). The western sectors of Berlin are governed by the U.S., the U.K., and France, which together with the U.S.S.R. have special rights and responsibilities for the entire city of Berlin.

Major political parties: Christian Democratic Union (CDU); Christian Social Union (CSU); Social Democratic Party (SPD); Free Democratic Party (FDP); Greens. **Suffrage:** Universal at 18.

Central government budget (FY 1989): $153.6 billion.

Defense (1989 est.): 3.0% of GNP.

Flag: Three horizontal bands: black, red, and gold, from top to bottom.

Economy

GNP (1988): $1,208 billion. **Annual growth rate** (1988): 3.4%. **Per capita income:** $19,750. **Inflation rate** (1988): 1%.

Natural resources: Iron, hard coal, lignite, potash, natural gas.

Agriculture (1.5% of GNP): *Products*—corn, wheat, potatoes, sugar beets, barley, hops, viniculture, forestry, fisheries.

Industry (40.4% of GNP): *Types*—iron and steel, coal, chemicals, electrical products, ships, vehicles, construction.

Trade (1988): *Exports*—$323 billion: chemicals, motor vehicles, iron and steel products, manufactured goods, electrical products. *Major markets* (1988)—European Community 54.3%, other European countries 18.7%, U.S. 8.0%, developing countries 6.8%, Soviet Union 1.6%. *Imports*—$250 billion: food, petroleum products, manufactured goods, electrical products, automobiles, apparel. *Major suppliers* (1988)—European Community countries 51.7%, other European countries 15.9%, U.S. 6.6%, developing countries 10.0%, Soviet Union 1.6%.

Exchange rate (1988 avg.): 1.75 Deutsche marks = US$1.

Membership in International Organizations

UN and some of its specialized and related agencies, Council of Europe, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), European Community (EC), Western European Union (WEU), Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), International Energy Agency (IEA), INTELSAT.

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International boundary
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50 Kilometers
50 Miles
DENMARK
Åbenrå
Flensburg
Kiel
Canal
Neumünster
Cuxhaven
NORTH SEA
Wilhelmshaven
Emden
Groningen
NETHERLANDS
Bremerhaven
Hamburg
Lübeck
Oldenburg
Bremen
Ems
Mittelland Kanal
Osnabruck
Hannover
Braunschweig
Helmstedt
Salzgitter
Weser
Arnhem
Münster
Rhine
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Inn
Ingolstadt
Regensburg
Nürnberg
Amberg
Bamberg
Plauen
Zwickau
Karl-Marx Stadt
Gera
Eisenach
Erfurt
Suhl
Fulda
Kassel
Halle
Leipzig
Dresden
Cottbus
Spree
Neisse
Oder
Magdeburg
Elbe
Potsdam
WEST BERLIN
EAST
Frankfurt
Havel
Ludwigslust
Schwerin
Wismar
Rostock
Lübeck
Hamburg
Neubrandenburg
Stettin
Szczecin
POLAND
GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
FEDERAL
BALTIC SEA
BORNHOLM (Denmark)
Sassnitz
RÜGEN
Stralsund
MECKLENBURGER BUCHT
Kiel
Canal
Elbe
Weser
Rhine
Ems
Mittelland Kanal
Mosel
Main
Danube
Inn
Neisse
Oder
Spree
Havel
Elbe
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
PRAGUE
Cheb
Plzen
AUSTRIA
Linz
Schärding
Salzburg
Kufstein
SWITZERLAND
Basel
Zurich
Bodensee
LIECH.
Final borders of Germany have not been established. The representation of some other boundaries are not necessarily authoritative. GDR has located the seat of its government in the Eastern Sector of Berlin. However, Greater Berlin including all four occupied sections, retains its Four Power juridical status.

GEOGRAPHY

The Federal Republic of Germany (F.R.G.) is located in north-central Europe, bordered by the North and Baltic Seas, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, France, Switzerland, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and the German Democratic Republic (G.D.R.—East Germany). The terrain varies from the plains of the northern lowlands through the central uplands and Alpine foothills to the Bavarian Alps. The Alps extend along the southern boundary from Lake Konstanz (Bodensee), a lake on the Swiss border, to the Austrian border near Salzburg. The highest peak is the Zugspitze (2,962 meters—9,718 ft.). To the west is the Rhine River, the most important commercial waterway in Europe. In the southwestern corner of the country is the Black Forest, so named because of the deep green of its firs and because their thick cover keeps the forest floor in twilight.

The climate varies but is mainly maritime and temperate. The average winter temperature in the north is 1.6 °C (35 °F) and in the south, -2.7 °C (27 °F). Summer temperatures average 16 °C-18 °C (61 °F-66 °F) in the north and 20 °C (68 °F) or slightly higher in the south. Precipitation varies during the year from about 50 to 75 centimeters (20–30 in.) in most of the country, although as much as 203 centimeters (80 in.) may fall in the Bavarian Alps. Sometimes during a low-pressure system, the country experiences the *Foehn*, a warm, tropical wind similar to the French *Mistral* or the American Chinook. In spring, the *Foehn* breaks the cloud cover and melts the snow.

PEOPLE

The population of the F.R.G. is primarily German; however, foreign guest workers and their dependents constitute about 7.6% of the 59.2 million inhabitants. An ethnic Danish minority lives in the north.

Renowned for their economic productivity, Germans are well educated. Since the end of World War II, the number of youths entering universities has nearly tripled, and the F.R.G.'s trade and technical schools are among the world's best.

German culture has produced some of the greatest artists and intellectuals of all time. Composers, artists, writers, scholars, and scientists have always enjoyed prestige in Germany.

With per capita income approaching $20,000, postwar Germany has become a broadly middle class society. A generous welfare system provides for the needs of German citizens. Modern Germans also are mobile; millions travel abroad each year.

HISTORY

Germanic tribes, coming from the north and east, began entering the territory of Germany nearly 4,000 years ago. They pushed back the Celts and were strongly established when they encountered the Romans moving north under Varus, one of Augustus' generals. They annihilated the Roman forces and killed Varus in the battle of the Teutoburg Forest in A.D. 9, effectively stopping Roman expansion on the Danube-Rhine line.

Thus, much of Germany did not experience Latin culture directly and adopted Christianity later than did the Roman world. The baptism of Clovis in A.D. 496 opened the way for widespread conversion of the Franks and other Germanic tribes and culminated three centuries later with the crowning of "Karl the Great" (Charlemagne) in A.D. 800 as Holy Roman Emperor.

Although some Germanic emperors asserted imperial power after Charlemagne, the 1,000 years before the rise of modern Germany in the 19th century were dominated politically by decentralizing forces. Even after feudalism had ebbed, the authority of local princes, especially of a number of powerful duchies, dominated through the Napoleonic era. The Thirty Years' War (1618–48), a series of conflicts among Protestant and Catholic forces, decimated Germany's population. An uneasy balance remained between Protestant and Catholic states, which continued to war against each other periodically.

The rise of Prussian power, supported by growing German nationalism, eventually ended the fighting among German states and resulted in the formation of the German Empire in 1871 under the chancellorship of Bismarck. Although authoritarian in many respects, the empire permitted the development of political parties, including the Socialists, and Bismarck was credited with passing the most advanced social welfare legislation of the age. Dynamic expansion of military power, however, contributed to tension on the continent. The fragile European balance of power broke down in 1914; World War I left millions dead and led to the collapse of the empire.

The postwar Weimar Republic (1919–33) sought to draw on Germany's liberal traditions but was handicapped by terrible economic problems—the inflation of the early 1920s and the post-1929 world depression—as well as the political legacy of the Versailles Treaty, which imposed on Germany a heavy burden of reparations and loss of territory. The new experiment in republican, parliamentary democracy was unable to harness the resulting surge of political conflicts, and the republic suffered from a succession of weak governments formed by multiparty coalitions. The National Socialist (Nazi) Party, led by a demagogic ex-corporal, Adolf Hitler, emphasized nationalist themes, such as the alleged betrayal of Germany by German republican representatives at Versailles, promised to put the huge unemployed part of the population back to work, and blamed many of Germany's ills on alleged Jewish conspiracies. The party achieved power through a coalition in 1933. Once in power, Hitler and his party first undermined, then abolished democratic institutions and opposition parties and installed a program of racism that resulted, during World War II, in the deliberate, widespread extermination of Jews and other minority groups. In the 1930s, Hitler also began to restore the economy and German military strength. His ambitions led Germany into launching World War II and suffering destruction, defeat, and loss of territory.

Upon Germany's unconditional surrender on May 8, 1945, the United States, the United Kingdom, and the U.S.S.R. occupied the country and assumed responsibility for its administration. The commanders-in-chief exercised supreme authority in their respective zones and, sitting as the Allied Control Council (ACC), acted jointly by unanimous decision on questions affecting Germany as a whole. France was later invited to joined the ACC and was given a separate zone of occupation.

At Potsdam in August 1945, the United States, United Kingdom, and Soviet Union agreed to a broad program of decentralization, treating Germany as a single economic unit with certain central administrative departments. These plans failed, primarily because of ever-increasing differences with the Soviet Union. In 1948, the Soviets withdrew from the Four Power governing bodies of Germany and Berlin and instituted a blockade of Berlin.

Nineteen forty-eight marked a turning point. To create a nucleus for a future German government, the United States and the United Kingdom expanded the size and powers of the German Economic Council, established a year earlier in their two zones. The program provided for a constituent assembly in the West German territory, an occupation statute governing relations

between the Allies and the German authorities, and the economic merger of the French with the British and U.S. zones.

On May 23, 1949, the Basic Law, or constitution, of the Federal Republic of Germany was promulgated. The Basic Law was drawn up by the constituent assembly and approved prior to its proclamation by the state legislatures (*Landtage*), with the exception of Bavaria, in the American, French, and British zones. On September 20, 1949, the first federal government was formed, led by Konrad Adenauer. The next day, the occupation statute came into force, granting, with certain exceptions, full powers of self-government to the new state. The F.R.G. quickly progressed toward fuller sovereignty and association with European neighbors and the Atlantic community. The London and Paris Agreements of 1954 restored full sovereignty to the Federal Republic of Germany when they went into effect on May 5, 1955. This opened the way for membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Western European Union (WEU).

The three Western Allies retained occupation powers in Berlin and certain responsibilities for Germany as a whole. Under the new arrangements, the Allies stationed troops within the F.R.G. for NATO defense, pursuant to status-of-forces agreements with the F.R.G. All allied forces—except the 45,000 French troops—currently are under NATO's joint defense command. (France withdrew from NATO's integrated military command structure in 1967.)

U.S. forces in the F.R.G. and Berlin (West) total nearly 250,000, of which some 208,000 are army and approximately 40,000 are air force personnel. The three major commands are U.S. European Command (USEUCOM), outside Stuttgart; U.S. Army, Europe (USAREUR), at Heidelberg; and U.S. Air Force, Europe (USAFE), at Ramstein. Although most U.S. forces are stationed in southern and central Germany, in 1978 the forward brigade of an army division stationed in the United States moved into facilities outside Bremen, strengthening the defense posture on the north German plain.

In July 1955, the F.R.G. began to form its own defense forces, which now total some 490,000 troops on active duty. They are all under NATO command and form the largest European contribution of conventional strength to NATO. The F.R.G. hosts again as many allied troops, and a large portion of NATO's theater nuclear forces are stationed on its soil.

The West German parliament has adopted extraordinary measures to ensure civilian political control of the military and to prevent the re-establishment of militarism. The F.R.G. is keenly interested in arms control and disarmament and participates in the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, the negotiations in Vienna on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, as well as the talks in Vienna on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. West Germany also has been a very active participant in the meetings following the 1975 Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). The F.R.G. renounced the manufacture of atomic, bacteriological, and chemical weapons in the 1950s. It ratified the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1974, and West Germany signed the Biological Weapons Convention in 1972.

GOVERNMENT

The government is parliamentary and based on a democratic constitution (Basic Law) that emphasizes the protection of individual liberty and divided power in a federal structure. The republic consists of 10 states, or *Laender*.

The chancellor (prime minister) heads the executive branch of the federal government. The cabinet, consisting of the chancellor and the federal ministers, is usually referred to as the government.

The president's duties (chief of state) are largely ceremonial; real power is exercised by the chancellor. Although elected by and responsible to the *Bundestag* (lower and principal chamber of the parliament), the chancellor cannot be removed from office during a 4-year term unless the *Bundestag* has agreed on a successor. The *Bundestag*, also elected for a 4-year term, consists of 496 deputies, in addition to 22 representatives from Berlin who have no vote in plenary sessions except on procedural matters.

The *Bundesrat* (upper chamber or Federal Council) consists of 41 members who are delegates of the 10 *Laender*, plus 4 representatives of the Berlin government who have nonvoting status.

The legislature has powers of exclusive jurisdiction and concurrent jurisdiction (with the *Laender*) in fields specifically enumerated by the Basic Law. The *Bundestag* bears the major responsibility. The role of the *Bundesrat* is limited except in matters concerning *Laender* interests, where it can exercise substantial veto power.

The F.R.G. has an independent judiciary consisting of a Federal Constitutional Court, a Federal High Court of Justice, and federal courts with jurisdiction in administrative, financial, labor, and social matters. The highest court is the Federal Constitutional Court, consisting of 24 members serving in 2 panels of 12 each. The principal functions of the court are to ensure uniform interpretation of constitutional provisions and to protect the fundamental rights of the individual citizen as defined in the Basic Law.

Principal Government Officials

President—Richard von Weizsaecker
President of the *Bundestag*—Rita Suessmuth (CDU)
Chancellor—Helmut Kohl (CDU)
Vice Chancellor—Hans-Dietrich Genscher (FDP)

Ministers
Defense—Gerhard Stoltenberg (CDU)
Economic Cooperation—Juergen Warnke (CSU)
Economics—Helmut Haussmann (FDP)
Education and Science—Juergen Moellemann (FDP)
Environment—Klaus Toepfer (CDU)
Finance—Theo Waigel (CSU)
Food, Agriculture, and Forestry—Ignaz Kiechle (CSU)
Foreign Affairs—Hans-Dietrich Genscher (FDP)
Inner-German Relations—Dorothee Wilms (CDU)
Interior—Wolfgang Schaeuble (CDU)
Justice—Hans Engelhard (FDP)
Labor and Social Affairs—Norbert Bluem (CDU)
Housing and City Planning—Gerda Hasselfeldt (CSU)
Research and Technology—Heinz Riesenhuber (CDU)
Transportation—Friedrich Zimmermann (CSU)
Post and Telecommunications—Christian Schwarz-Schilling (CDU)
Youth, Family, Women's, and Health Affairs—Ursula Lehr (CDU)

Ambassador to the United States—Juergen Ruhfus
Ambassador to the United Nations—Hans-Otto Braeutigam

The F.R.G. maintains an embassy in the United States at 4645 Reservoir Road NW., Washington, D.C. 20007 (tel. 202-298-4000).

F.R.G. Consulates General are located in Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Houston, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, and New York.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS

Since the establishment of the F.R.G. in 1949, political life has been marked by remarkable stability and orderly succession. The Adenauer era (1949–63) was followed by a brief period under Ludwig Erhard (1963–66) who, in turn, was replaced as chancellor by Kurt Georg Kiesinger (1966–69). Governments between 1949 and 1966 were all formed by the united caucus of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and Christian Social Union (CSU), either alone or in coalition with the smaller Free Democratic Party (FDP). Kiesinger's 1966-69 "grand coalition" included the CDU/CSU and the Social Democratic Party (SPD). In the 1969 election, the SPD, headed by Willy Brandt, gained enough votes to form a coalition government with the FDP, leaving the CDU/CSU in the opposition.

In October 1969, newly elected Chancellor Brandt, in his first address to the *Bundestag*, outlined a program of broad social and economic reforms but declared that his government would follow a foreign policy of continuity: the F.R.G. would remain firmly rooted in the Atlantic alliance but would intensify previous governments' tentative efforts to improve relations with Eastern Europe and the G.D.R.

The F.R.G. commenced this expanded eastern policy—*Ostpolitik*—by negotiating nonaggression treaties with the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Hungary. The F.R.G.'s relations with the G.D.R. posed particularly difficult questions. Although anxious to relieve serious hardships for divided families and to reduce friction with the G.D.R., the F.R.G. was intent on holding to its concept of "two German states in one German nation."

This requirement made negotiations with the G.D.R. prolonged and difficult on a number of subjects. Nevertheless, the two German states concluded a number of agreements, including one providing for the exchange of permanent representatives, who assumed their posts in 1974. The F.R.G. and the G.D.R. were admitted to the United Nations on September 18, 1973.

In November 1972, a series of party crossovers resulting from disagreements over *Ostpolitik* led to the F.R.G.'s first federal elections held before the end of the normal *Bundestag* term. The SPD/FDP coalition gained a stable parliamentary majority. Chancellor Brandt remained head of government until May 1974, when he resigned after a senior member of his staff, Guenter Guillaume, was arrested and accused of being an officer in the G.D.R. intelligence service.

Finance Minister Helmut Schmidt formed a government and received the unanimous support of SPD and FDP members. Hans-Dietrich Genscher, a leading FDP official, who had served as Interior Minister under Brandt, became the Vice Chancellor and Foreign Minister, replacing FDP Chairman Walter Scheel, who was elected separately to the federal presidency.

A strong supporter of the European Community (EC) and the Atlantic alliance, Schmidt emphasized his commitment to "the political unification of Europe in partnership with the U.S.A."

In the 1970s, environmentalists, concerned that the major parties would not do enough to protect the environment, organized politically as the Greens. In many cities, they were able to poll close to 5% in the 1979 European Parliament election. Opposition to expanded use of nuclear power, to NATO, and to aspects of highly industrialized society were principal campaign issues. Initially considered a short-term phenomenon by some political observers, the Greens command extensive intellectual and popular sympathy and have grown significantly in importance.

Berlin

Berlin is located 176 kilometers (110 mi.) inside the G.D.R. and is entirely surrounded by its territory. Although the Western sectors of the city are not part of the F.R.G. and continue not to be governed by it, strong ties have developed between them and the F.R.G. over the years.

Many people in Germany, West and East, look upon Berlin as the German capital and believe that it will ultimately be restored to its former position whenever Germany is reunified. The G.D.R. claims the Soviet sector of Berlin as its capital, and its principal government offices are located there. The allies reject this claim and continue to hold the Soviets responsible for their sector of the city. In spite of the Berlin Wall, Berlin (West) is a vital urban center and a magnetic attraction and source of hope to the people of the G.D.R.

Berlin's Special Status

After World War II, Berlin was not included in any of the other zones of occupation but was made a separate area under quadripartite control. Berlin was the seat of the Allied Control Council, which was to govern Germany as a whole and which also was to be the seat of the eventual central German government. In 1948, however, the Soviets refused to participate any longer in the quadripartite administration of Germany. At the same time, they refused to continue to cooperate in the joint administration of Berlin, drove the government elected by the people of Berlin out of its seat in the Soviet sector, and installed a communist regime in its place.

Berlin remains a quadripartite responsibility, although the Allied authority (the Berlin Allied *Kommandatura*—boycotted by the Soviets since 1948) can exercise effective authority only in the three Western sectors of Berlin. West Berlin (U.S., U.K., and French sectors) has a population of 1.9 million and covers an area of 483 square kilometers (186 sq. mi.). East Berlin (Soviet sector) has a population of 1.1 million and an area of 403 square kilometers (155 sq. mi.). The infamous 165-kilometer (103-mi.) Berlin Wall surrounds the Western sectors of the city. Access through the Wall is restricted to eight crossing points.

To a degree compatible with the city's special status, the Western allies have turned over control and management of city affairs to the Berlin *Senat* (executive) and House of Representatives, governing bodies established by constitutional process and chosen on the basis of free elections. The allies and the German authorities in the F.R.G. and Berlin (West) do not recognize the communist city regime in East Berlin nor G.D.R. authority there.

To reduce the psychological and practical hardships of Berlin's isolation, a close relationship has been developed between the Government of Berlin (West) and that of the F.R.G.. For example, representatives of the city participate in the F.R.G. parliament, although as nonvoting members; appropriate West German agencies, such as the Supreme Administrative Court, have their permanent seats in Berlin (West); and the governing mayor of Berlin takes his or her turn as president of the *Bundesrat*. These ties between the F.R.G. and Berlin (West) were reaffirmed in the 1972 Quadripartite Agreement. In addition, the allies carefully consult with the F.R.G. and Berlin Governments on foreign policy questions involving reunification and the status of Berlin.

The Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin has contributed to many practical improvements in easing the life of Berliners. It provides for unhindered civilian access to Berlin and greater freedom of movement between the Eastern and Western sectors, and it contains a Soviet acknowledgment of the ties that have grown between Berlin (West) and the F.R.G., including the latter's right to represent Berlin abroad.

Major events such as fairs and festivals have been sponsored in Berlin (West), and investment in commerce and industry has been encouraged by special concessionary tax legislation. The results of such efforts, combined with effective city administration and the Berliners' energy and spirit, have been encouraging. Berlin's morale has been sustained, and its industrial production has considerably surpassed the prewar level.

In October 1982, the SPD/FDP coalition fell apart, precipitated by splits within the SPD as well as by disagreements between the two ruling parties. The FDP joined forces with the CDU/CSU to elect CDU Chairman Helmut Kohl as Chancellor. Following national elections on March 6, 1983, Kohl emerged in firm control of both the government and the CDU party. In the elections, the CDU/CSU fell just short of an absolute majority, due to the entry into the *Bundestag* of the Greens, who received 5.6% of the vote.

In January 1987, the Kohl/Genscher government was returned to office, but the FDP and the Greens gained at the expense of the larger parties. Kohl's CDU and its Bavarian sister party, the CSU, slipped from 48.7% of the vote (1983) to 44.3%. By contrast, the Free Democrats rose from 7% to 9.1%, their best showing since 1980. The SPD opposition fell to 37%. Long-time SPD Chairman Willy Brandt subsequently resigned in April 1987. The Greens also significantly strengthened their place in the *Bundestag*, rising from 5.6% in 1983 to 8.3%. The next *Bundestag* elections are expected in December 1990.

Major Parties

Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union (CDU/CSU). An important aspect of postwar German politics has been the emergence of a moderate Christian party, the Christian Democratic Union, operating with a related Bavarian party, the Christian Social Union. Although each party maintains its own structure, the two form a common caucus in the *Bundestag* and do not run opposing campaigns. The CDU/CSU is loosely organized, containing Catholics, Protestants, rural interests, and members of all economic classes. It is generally conservative on economic and social policy and more identified with the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches than are the other major parties, although its programs are pragmatic rather than ideological. Except for the 1969–82 period, the CDU/CSU has participated, either alone or as the dominant coalition partner, in every federal government. Helmut Kohl has served as chairman of the CDU since 1973; Theo Waigel succeeded the late Franz Josef Strauss as chairman of the CSU in 1988.

The Social Democratic Party (SPD). The other major party in the F.R.G., the SPD, is one of the oldest organized political parties in the world. Historically, it had advocated Marxist principles, but in its "Godesberg Program," adopted in 1959, it abandoned the concept of a class party, while continuing to stress social welfare programs. In foreign policy, the SPD originally opposed the F.R.G.'s entry in 1955 into NATO, but it now emphasizes German ties with the Atlantic alliance. However, the SPD often opposes specific NATO programs—such as the 1979 NATO INF (intermediate-range nuclear forces) decision—and has advanced its own proposals under the banner of "security partnership" with the East. Hans-Jochen Vogel, who also is chairman of the SPD's *Bundestag* caucus, succeeded Willy Brandt as SPD chairman in 1987. The SPD has a powerful base in the bigger cities and industrialized *Laender*.

Free Democratic Party (FDP). The FDP traditionally has been composed mainly of middle- and upper-class Protestants who consider themselves "independents" and heirs to the European liberal tradition. Although the party is weak on the state level, it has participated in all but three postwar governments and has spent only 7 years out of government in the 40-year history of the Federal Republic. Count Otto Lambsdorff was elected chairman of the FDP in 1988. A leading figure in the party is Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who since 1974 has served as the West German Vice Chancellor and Foreign Minister in coalition governments with both the SPD and the CDU/CSU.

Greens. Since the mid-1980s, the Greens have achieved 7%–10% of the vote in a series of state and local elections, and received 8.3% in the January 1987 national election. Local Greens parties are represented in several state parliaments, and the party has established itself as an apparently lasting feature on the F.R.G. political scene. The Greens continue, nonetheless, to be torn between two largely incompatible wings: the "fundamentalists," who reject "politics as usual" and advocate a hard-line antinuclear, antiwar, proecology stand; and the "realists," who contend that the party can only realize its program by working within the existing political structure. The Greens recently have shown signs of rejecting the fundamentalists' uncompromising approach. At a March 1989 national convention, fundamentalists were voted out of all leadership positions, leaving realists in control of the party as well as the Greens' *Bundestag* caucus. The Greens also have indicated a willingness to form governing coalitions with the SPD.

German Communist Party (DKP)—Extremists. On the left, the main party is the Moscow-oriented DKP, the successor to the Communist Party of Germany (KPD), which was declared unconstitutional in 1956. It has polled less than 1% of the vote in recent elections, far short of the 5% minimum required for *Bundestag* representation.

The Republikaner and the National Democratic Party (NPD). These two parties are the principal parties on the right. They made gains in local elections in early 1989, but it remains to be seen whether this is a durable phenomenon that will have long-lasting effects on West German politics. Neither party is currently represented in the *Bundestag*. As a result of gaining 7.5% of the vote in the 1989 Berlin elections, however, the *Republikaner* are entitled to send two of Berlin's deputies to the *Bundestag* that will be formed following the 1990 national elections.

ECONOMY

The F.R.G. ranks among the world's most important economic powers. From the 1948 currency reform until the early 1970s, it experienced almost continuous economic expansion. Although real growth in gross national product (GNP) slowed and even declined from the mid-1970s through the recession of the early 1980s, it rose during the 1983–88 period by an average of 2.4% per year. Since the end of recession in the early 1980s, the F.R.G. has had positive growth for 7 consecutive years. In 1988, growth was 3.4%.

The F.R.G.'s economy operates mainly on a free market basis. Competition and free enterprise are fostered as a matter of government policy. However, the state participates in the ownership and management of major segments of the economy, including such public services as railroad, airline, and telephone systems.

The F.R.G.'s economy is heavily export oriented, with one-third of its GNP shipped abroad annually. Exports have been a key element in German macroeconomic expansion. As a result, the international value of the Deutsche mark (DM), currently one of the strongest currencies in the world, is closely watched by F.R.G. policymakers. The F.R.G. is one of the leading members of the EC, and its commercial policy is increasingly determined by agreements among EC members.

The United States, EC members, Austria, and Switzerland are the F.R.G.'s major trading partners. The United States had sales of about $16.6 billion (a 6.6% share of the F.R.G. import market) in 1988. During that year, the F.R.G. exported goods valued at about $26 billion to the United States (an 8% share of the U.S. import market), including motor vehicles, machinery, rolling mill products, chemicals, and electrical equipment. U.S. sales to the

F.R.G. are concentrated in chemicals, machinery, soybeans, defense items, electronic equipment, edible fats and oils, aircraft, tobacco, and grains.

The F.R.G. Government has followed a liberal policy toward foreign investment. About 65% of U.S. capital invested in the F.R.G. is in manufacturing (the largest share is in the automobile industry), and another 25% is in petroleum. Total U.S. assets in the F.R.G. amounted to $18.3 billion at the end of 1988.

German capital has come increasingly to the United States. At the end of 1988, net F.R.G. direct investment amounted to $26.7 billion. German business representatives are likely to continue and perhaps accelerate this trend, while U.S. investment in the F.R.G. develops more selectively and slowly.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

The F.R.G.'s foreign policy focuses on overcoming the division of Europe, Germany, and Berlin. To this end, the F.R.G. emphasizes maintaining close ties with the United States, membership in NATO, a close Franco-German relationship, progress toward West European integration, and improving relations with Eastern Europe.

The F.R.G. has taken part in all of the joint postwar efforts aimed at closer political, economic, and defense cooperation among the countries of Western Europe. It is a charter member of the European Coal and Steel Community, formed in 1952, and it joined the Brussels treaty members in 1954 to form the Western European Union, which placed certain controls on German rearmament.

The F.R.G. became a member of NATO in 1955. In 1957, it signed the Treaties of Rome, thereby becoming a member of the EC and the European Atomic Energy Community. In January 1963, the F.R.G. signed a treaty of reconciliation with France, aimed at future political, military, and cultural cooperation.

Relations With Eastern Europe

As part of a divided nation positioned in the middle of the continent, the F.R.G.'s relations with Eastern Europe are complex. In 1955, it established diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. By 1958, the U.S.S.R. had repatriated thousands of prisoners of war and German civilians, and the F.R.G. and the Soviet Union had reached limited trade and consular agreements. However, a series of Soviet-engineered Berlin crises and a steady Soviet campaign aimed at discrediting the F.R.G. Government and dividing it from its Western allies kept relations strained.

At a Geneva foreign ministers' meeting in 1959, France, the United Kingdom, and the United States proposed solving the Berlin problem by establishing a unified German state on the basis of free elections within a framework of measures guaranteeing European security. This proposal was rejected by the U.S.S.R., which insisted on concluding peace treaties with "both German states."

The Soviets also advocated, as the only acceptable method of achieving reunification, direct negotiations between West and East Germany under conditions that could lead to their merger. These conditions included the dissolution of German ties to the West and the extension of communist influence throughout Germany. A June 1961 meeting between President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev resulted in a Soviet ultimatum that the U.S.S.R. would sign a peace treaty with the East German regime before the end of that year. Although no basis for negotiation among the wartime Allies had been found, the Soviets did not carry out their threat to sign a separate peace.

On August 13, 1961, the East Germans began building a wall through the center of Berlin, effectively dividing the city and slowing to a trickle the flood of refugees from East Germany through Berlin to the West. The wall became the symbol of the East's political debility as well as Germany's and Europe's division.

The F.R.G.'s *Ostpolitik* seeks to improve the situation in Germany and Berlin, reduce tensions in central Europe, and promote normalization of relations between the F.R.G. and its East European neighbors. This policy originated in the 1950s and 1960s, when the F.R.G. sought first to establish trade pacts and, later, diplomatic relations with East European countries. Agreements, incorporating the "Berlin clause" providing for the inclusion of Berlin (West), were signed with Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania. Diplomatic relations were established with Romania and reestablished with Yugoslavia. The F.R.G. also signed agreements with Czechoslovakia, renouncing the use of force, and with the G.D.R., establishing relations.

This policy of reconciliation with Eastern Europe was intensified by Chancellor Brandt's government when it assumed power in October 1969. Brandt met twice with G.D.R. Prime Minister Willi Stoph in early 1970 in an effort to establish Brandt's concept of a special relationship between the two German states within one German nation.

The F.R.G. also negotiated treaties with the Soviet Union and Poland in 1970, accepting the present European borders as inviolable and undertaking to settle disputes by peaceful means. During these negotiations, the F.R.G. consulted its Western allies. Four Power rights and responsibilities for Berlin and Germany as a whole were not affected by these bilateral agreements. Both treaties were submitted to the German parliament in December 1971 and were ratified in May 1972; they were signed into law by President Gustav Heinemann on May 23, 1972.

Concurrently, the ambassadors of the United Kingdom, France, U.S.S.R., and the United States began negotiations in Berlin in March 1970 with the goal of reaching a new agreement on Berlin. In September 1971, they signed the first phase of a quadripartite agreement, which empowered German authorities in East and West Germany to negotiate further agreements and arrangements on civilian travel in and around Berlin. These intra-German agreements and arrangements were signed in December 1971. The Final Quadripartite Protocol, encompassing and putting into effect the quadripartite and the intra-German sections, was

Travel Notes

Climate and clothing: Germany is in the temperate zone but is cooler than much of the United States, especially in summer. Lightweight summer clothing is seldom needed.

Customs and immigrations: No visa is required of U.S. citizens. Inoculations are not required.

Health: Community sanitation and cleanliness standards are high. Drinking water, dairy products, and other foods are under strict government control and generally meet or exceed U.S. standards.

Telecommunications: Telephone and telegraph services, domestic and international, are efficient. Bonn is 6 hours ahead of eastern standard time.

Transportation: Frankfurt's international airport is a center of European air traffic. Most airlines operate services to and within the F.R.G. Express trains are available. An extensive network of highways (*Autobahnen*) connects most major cities. Car rentals are expensive but widely available. Third-party liability insurance is mandatory. Mass transportation facilities (trains, streetcars, subways) are crowded but efficient. Taxis are available in all cities.

signed in Berlin by the American, British, French, and Soviet foreign ministers on June 3, 1972. Travel of West Germans and West Berliners to the G.D.R. has increased greatly under the Quadripartite Agreement.

The main interests of the F.R.G. in its relationship with Eastern Europe are:

- Continued expansion of economic relations;
- Reduction of political and military tensions in Central Europe;
- Maintenance of a special relationship with the G.D.R.; and
- More freedom of movement between East and West, and better treatment of ethnic Germans living in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

Germany as a Whole and Berlin

Following the signature of an agreement between the Soviet Union and the G.D.R. on June 12, 1964, the United States, United Kingdom, and France, in consultation with the F.R.G., issued a tripartite declaration on June 26, 1964. This declaration outlined their basic policies toward Germany as a whole and Berlin in particular and emphasized the following points.

- Any agreement on the subject of Germany, including Berlin, between the U.S.S.R. and the G.D.R. cannot affect Soviet obligations or responsibilities under previous agreements or arrangements with the Allies. The Allies will continue to hold the U.S.S.R. responsible for the fulfillment of its obligations.
- The city of "Greater Berlin" remains under Four Power administration. No unilateral initiatives by the U.S.S.R. to block the quadripartite administration will modify this legal situation. In accordance with an agreement of October 23, 1954, the Allies authorized the establishment of close ties between Berlin and the F.R.G. to ensure representation of Berlin and its people outside the city.
- Determination of the final frontiers of Germany was left to a peace settlement for the whole of Germany. On October 3, 1954, the F.R.G. renounced the use of force to achieve reunification or modification of present boundaries, and this remains its policy.
- Safeguarding peace and security requires the application of self-determination in the whole of Germany. The exercise of self-determination, leading to German reunification in peace and freedom, remains the fundamental objective of the Allies.
- The Allies remain ready to take advantage of any opportunity that would peacefully re-establish German unity in freedom.

These basic Western policies have been echoed repeatedly in subsequent U.S. policy statements.

Relations With the German Democratic Republic

At the December 1972 NATO ministerial meetings in Brussels, it was agreed that individual members of the alliance would be free to establish relations with the G.D.R. after the signing of the basic treaty between the G.D.R. and the F.R.G. That treaty was signed December 21, 1972. The United States established diplomatic relations with the G.D.R. on September 4, 1974.

U.S.-F.R.G. RELATIONS

U.S.-German relations have been a focal point of American involvement in Europe since the end of World War II. The Federal Republic of Germany stands at the center of East-West relations, as well as of U.S. relations with the West Europeans in NATO and the European Community.

But the roots of German-American ties extend back beyond the founding of the United States to the colonial era. More than 7 million Germans have emigrated to America over the last three centuries and, today, nearly one in every four U.S. citizens can claim German ancestry. In recognition of this heritage and the importance of modern-day U.S.-F.R.G. ties, Congress, has since, 1987 declared October 6 to be "German-American Day."

The U.S. objective in Germany remains the preservation and consolidation of a close and vital relationship with the F.R.G., as friends and trading partners but particularly as allies sharing common institutions and having similar outlooks. The U.S. role in Berlin and the large American military presence in West Germany are symbols of the United States' commitment to the defense of the F.R.G. and Europe. U.S. policies are shaped by the awareness that the security and prosperity of the United States and the F.R.G. depends, to a major degree, on that of the other partner.

As allies in NATO, the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany work side by side to maintain peace and freedom—as was illustrated by the allied unity and resolve that made possible the successful conclusion of the 1987 U.S.-U.S.S.R. Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty. A parallel long-term U.S. objective, which is fully shared by the F.R.G., has been to safeguard the freedom, access, welfare, and security of the Western sectors of Berlin.

As two of the world's leading trading nations, the United States and the F.R.G. share a common, deep-seated commitment to an open and expanding world economy. After the United States, the F.R.G. is the world's second leading trading nation. West Germany is the United States' fourth largest trading partner.

Personal ties between the United States and F.R.G. extend beyond immigration to include lively foreign exchange programs, booming tourism in both directions, and the presence in the Federal Republic of Germany of approximately half a million American military personnel and their dependents.

The United States and the F.R.G. have built a solid foundation of bilateral cooperation in a relationship that has changed significantly over four decades. Although the relationship now constitutes a mature partnership, it remains subject to occasional misunderstandings and differences. Yet strains that have been evident in the relationship tend to reflect the very importance, variety, and intensity of U.S.-F.R.G. ties and respective interests, rather than fundamental differences.

German-American political, economic, and security relationships continue to be based on close consultation and coordination at the most senior levels. High-level visits take place frequently, and the United States and the F.R.G. cooperate actively in international forums.

Principal U.S. Officials

Ambassador—Vernon A. Walters
Deputy Chief of Mission—James F. Dobbins
Minister-Counselor for Political Affairs—Olaf Grobel
Minister-Counselor for Economic/Commercial Affairs—Richard Imus
Minister-Counselor for Commercial Affairs—John W. Bligh, Jr.
Minister-Counselor for Administrative Affairs—Howard W. Geisel
Minister-Counselor for Consular Affairs—Peter Murphy
Public Affairs Officer—Terrence F. Catherman

The U.S. Embassy in the F.R.G. is located at Deichmannsaue, 5300 Bonn 2 (tel. 339–3390). A U.S. Mission is in Berlin, and Consulates general are at Frankfurt, Hamburg, Munich, and Stuttgart. ■

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